

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9794

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2080

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ECE, CSCE, FR, GW, UR, US, WB

SUBJ: SOVIETS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, BASKET II CONFERENCES AT
PARTY CONGRESS; BERLIN AND ECE

REF: MOSCOW 1943

1. SUMMARY. REPORTS BY UK AND FRG AMBASSADORS IN FEBRUARY 10
QP MEETING SUGGEST SOVIETS INTEND USE PARTY CONGRESS TO
MAINTAIN MOMENTUM OF (AND ADVERTISE) THEIR PROGRAM OF SMALL CSCE
IMPLEMENTATION STEPS AND TO MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS "MATERIAL-
IZING" BREZHNEV'S IDEA OF CONFERENCES ON THE ENVIRONMENT,
TRANSPORT AND ENERGY. U.S. AND CANADA WILL EVIDENTLY BE IN-
VITED, BUT AT SAME TIME SOVIETS APPARENTLY MOVING TOWARD
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DECISION THAT PROPER ECE ROLE IS OBSERVER (AND NOT FRAMEWORK

FOR DISCUSSION), AND HAVE INVITED ECE SECGEN TO MOSCOW. SINCE BASKET II-TYPE CONFERENCES (ESPECIALLY OUTSIDE ECE FRAMEWORK) LIKELY TO RAISE BERLIN ISSUES IN ACUTE FORM (REFTEL), DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER MERITS OF DEVELOPING COMMON ALLIED POSITION ON FORUM FOR CONFERENCES IN BONN GROUP IN TIME TO INFORM STANOVNIK BEFORE HIS MOSCOW VISIT. END SUMMARY.

2. AT QUADRIPARTITE MEETING FEBRUARY 10, UK AMBASSADOR SMITH SAID PODGORNYY HAD STRESSED POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETENTE DURING HOUR-AND-QUARTER TALK FOLLOWING CREDENTIALS PRESENTATION FEBRUARY 9. HE AGREED WITH SMIT'S REMARK THAT HELSINKI WAS A SIGNPOST ON ROAD TO DETENTE, ADDING THAT MUCH REMAINED TO BE DONE, AND THAT MUCH WILL BE SAID AT CPSU PARTY CONGRESS ON WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE.

3. SMITH ALSO REPORTED THAT IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION DURING PRESENTATION AT KREMLIN, MFA COUNSELOR YURIY LOGINOV (RESPONSIBLE FOR MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS IN 2ND EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT) TOLD ADCM MALL-ABY THAT SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD SET BALL ROLLING ON DETENTE AND THAT FURTHER DECISIONS WOULD BE ANNOUNCED "BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER CONGRESS." HE MENTIONED DECISION TO PASS ON EMIGRATION APPLICATIONS WITHIN THIRTY DAYS AS EXAMPLE, WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHEN IT WOULD BE ANNOUNCED.

4. FRG AMBASSADOR SAHM REPORTED IN SAME MEETING THAT HE HAD CALLED ON MFA INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS DEPARTMENT CHIEF A.Y. NESTORENKO TO DISCUSS BREZHNEV PROPOSAL FOR DISCUSSION OF ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND ENERGY, AND EXPECIALLY TO PROBE SOVIET INTENTIONS CONCERNING USE OF ECE. SAHM'S IMPRESSION WAS THAT NESTORENKO WAS READY FOR QUESTIONS, SINCE HE ANSWERED BY READING FROM PREPARED PAPER: PLANS FOR FURTHER STEPS ARE MATERIALIZING; SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WILL BE MADE AT THE PARTY CONGRESS; ALL 35 CSCE PARTICIPANT COUNTRIES WOULD BE INVITED. ON ECE, NESTORENKO SAID OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WOULD BE INCLUDED IN INVITATIONS BUT, ALTHOUGH ECE HAD A GREAT DEAL OF EXPERIENCE IN THESE MATTERS, IT WAS NOT FEASIBLE TO USE IT AS A FRAMEWORK FOR MEETING. IT MIGHT PERHAPS BE INVITED TO ATTEND AS AN OBSERVER. IN ANY CASE, ECE
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SECRETARY GENERAL STANOVNIK WILL SOON BE COMING TO MOSCOW.

5. COMMENT: INFORMATION REPORTED ABOVE TENDS TO CONFIRM SOVIET INTENTION TO REGAIN AND KEEP INITIATIVE ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION BY MAINTAINING MOMENTUM FOR PROGRAM OF SMALL STEPS AND FOR BASKET II-TYPE CONFERENCES BROACHED BY BREZHNEV IN WARSAW. PARTY CONGRESS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE USED TO ADVERTISE GOOD SOVIET PERFORMANCE, AS WELL AS TO KEEP UP

MOMENTUM WITHIN SOVIET ESTABLISHMENT. AT SAME TIME, SOVIET MOVES ARE LIABLE TO CUT A NUMBER OF WAYS AS THEY BECOME MORE CONCRETE. FROM NESTORENKO'S STATEMENT REPORTED PARAGRAPH 4 ABOVE, IT APPEARS ANY INCLINATIONS SOVIETS MIGHT HAVE HAD TO EXCLUDE U.S. AND CANADA FROM ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND ENERGY MEETINGS HAVE BEEN TURNED AROUND. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF SOVIETS MAKE DEFINITIVE DECISION THAT ECE CANNOT SERVE AS FRAMEWORK FOR THESE MEETINGS, IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW BERLIN ISSUES INVOLVED IN FRG PARTICIPATION CAN BE RESOLVED WITHOUT SERIOUS FRICTIION.

6. IN QP MEETING AMBASSADOR SAHM POINTED TO BERLIN AS SERIOUS PROBLEM IN HANDLING BREZHNEV PROPOSAL AS IT BECOMES MORE SPECIFIC INTERNATIONALLY. IN HIS VIEW, THE HELSINKI STATEMENTS ON BERLIN BY THE THREE WESTERN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ARE VITALLY IMPORTANT, AND SHOULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR EC-NINE ATTITUDES AS WELL. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER MERITS OF EXPEDITIOUS CONSULTATIONS IN BONN BROUP ON ALLIED ATTITUDES TOWARD BEST FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH MEETINS IF SOVIETS MAKE FORMAL PROPOSAL AND IT IS ACCEPTED.

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